1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

the village. This representation is confirmed by Lisiansky's description (143, p. 56) of the same village, seen in 1803. Delano (5, p. 356) observed that along Hanga-roa Bay were a big house and many more of different form. 361

In 1866, most of the natives still lived in Anakena (81, p. 53) and in 1872 a number of them were in La Pérouse (145, p. 65). The missionaries first attempted to concentrate the population in Hangaroa and Vaihu (215, p. 453).

Geiseler (87, p. 40) noticed ruins of houses at the following places: on the south coast Hotu-iti, Rano-raraku, Hanga-te-tenga, Hanga-mai-iku, Akahanga, Vaihu and Vinapu; on the west coast Ahu-a-kapú, Ahu-te-peu; on the north coast Vai-mata, Hangoteo; Te Akaue, Anakena, Hanga-o-honu, Mahatua. The precipitous east coast, from Cape O'Higgins to Cape Roggeveen, bears no sign of occupancy although the presence of an ahu seems to prove that this coast was not entirely uninhabited.

The large village mentioned by Thomson (215, pp. 486-487) must refer to the houses between Tahai and Ahu-te-peu (village of Ana-o-hoka). There are remains of several houses, though some have been pulled down by Williamson-Balfour Company agents for stones to build their walls.

CLASSES OF SOCIETY

There were four grades or classes in the Easter Island society: *ariki* (noblemen), *ivi-atua* (priests), *matatoa* (warriors), and *kio* (servants or farmers). This schematic outline made by Roussel (190, p. 660) is only superficially exact. It does not indicate the actual position of the aristocracy and of the commoners and does not include the specialized groups like those of the experts (*maori*). 565

The ruler of the hierarchy was the principal high chief (*ariki-mau*) whom the missionaries and the present natives designate as "king of the island." As descendant of Hotu-matua by right of primogeniture, the king had great prestige which was increased by the sacredness of his person although his political influence was slight. The term *ariki-paka*, applied indiscriminately to all the Miru, expressed a real or fictitious relationship which every Miru could claim with the king's family (p. 126). The ancestors of several tribes were supposed to have been younger sons of Hotu-matua, but there is no evidence in literature or in modern traditions that the *ariki* title was held by tribes other than the Miru. Here there is a striking parallel with Mangaia where only one tribe established *ariki* titles (31, p. 103). On Easter Island, as on Mangareva, the commoners were called *hurumanu*. 643 619 554 565

KING

Information about the nature of kingship in ancient times has been derived from letters and reports of missionaries, especially the notes of Father Roussel, and from anecdotes and details remembered by native informants. According 643

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

643 The *ariki-mau* was respected because of his mana, his influence over nature, and the magic connected with his person, but he was certainly not a ruler or civilian chief. As a direct descendant of the first king who settled on the island and thus of the gods, the *ariki-mau* had a status superior to that of other chiefs or heads of tribes, but he probably had little authority over them. Though the king did not interfere in the intertribal wars, he may occasionally have acted as mediator in quarrels. His lack of real power and exalted position is shown by the following historical incident which took place just before 1862:

> The Ngaure tribe defeated the Miru whom they took as slaves (*mata-kio*). The king, his son Kamakoi, and his grandson Maurata were held in captivity in the territory of the Ngaure and were not rescued until a few years later by the Miru who had in the meantime united with the Tupa-hotu.

In view of all available evidence, kingship on Easter Island may be defined as follows. The king was the man with the most aristocratic pedigree and the most exalted social position on the island. His person was overflowing with mana and his sacredness caused him to be feared and respected. His function in society was to insure through his very being the abundance of crops and the fertility of the ground and to exercise his influence on animal life. Certain religious activities were derived from his sacredness and he held supervisory control over various practices connected with religion.

Priests

793 554 [565] Very little information is available about the status of priests (*ivi-atua*) (family of the gods) except that, according to Roussel, their social rank was next to that of the *ariki*. They were feared and respected, and the attitude of the common people toward them was probably similar to that observed toward the king or other high chiefs. The fact that native traditions, referring to certain important ceremonies, insist that these were performed by *ariki-paka*, implies that some high priests belonged to the families of kings. Very few allusions to *ivi-atua* are made in legends, but by analogy with Mangareva and the rest of Polynesia, we may suppose that they had a great deal of influence and played an important part in the history of the island. Their power and prestige seem to have been annihilated before the missionaries came, since they made no opposition to the introduction of Christianity. Accounts by the missionaries do not allude to them.

Experts and Craftsmen

463 An expert in any profession is called *maori*. The chanters or reciters of genealogies were *maori*, as well as the carvers of the big images, and the wood cutters. The common Polynesian word *tahunga* seems to have been known formerly, but it is not in the modern language. *Tahonga* is a formative

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

463

element in the names of several kings, and an old chant alludes to the *tahonga*.

[533
539]

He naunau no ta Puku-naunau.	There is a sandalwood tree in Puku-naunau.
He rongo-rongo no ta Orongo.	There is a chanter at Orongo.
He tahonga no ta Puku-tahonga.	There is an expert craftsman in Puku-tahonga.
He kiakia no ta Puku-kiakia.	There is a *kiakia* bird on Puku-kiakia.

Present-day islanders still remember that the stone carvers were organized into a sort of guild. They were a privileged class, highly esteemed, and their profession was transmitted from father to son. To Geiseler (87, p. 13) and Thomson (215, p. 498) were pointed out natives who claimed to be the descendants of the image makers. They referred to their ancestors with as much pride as to the royal family. One of Thomson's guides "never missed an opportunity of stating that one of his forefathers was Uuratahui, the distinguished image maker."

324
467

Tepano told me that expert stone carvers (*tangata maori anga moai maea*) received orders from people who wanted a monument for their ahu. They worked under the leadership of a master (*tangata honui maori*) and were paid in fish, lobsters, and eels.

324
465

Expert fishermen were called *vaka-tangata* (people of the boat). They went fishing at the request of people who wanted fish.

226

RONGORONGO MEN

The sacred lore of Easter Island was stored in the memories of experts, called *tangata rongorongo*. Routledge (194, p. 244) is the first to apply this term to a special category of learned people. Present-day natives always speak of the chanters and learned men of the past as *tangata rongorongo*.

533
463

Thomson (215, p. 514) states that the knowledge of chants and of the so-called script associated with them was possessed only by members of the royal family, the chiefs of the six districts, the sons of the chiefs, and certain priests and teachers. There is little doubt that many experts belonged to aristocratic families. King Nga-ara, who was trained by his father, was one of the most famous *rongorongo* men of the nineteenth century. Other traditions, however, imply that chanters were numerous, and if this impression is correct, we may assume that nobility was not an absolute prerequisite for the profession. Probably on Easter Island as on Mangareva it was fitting for the king to possess the science of a priest, though it was not obligatory.

533
463
565

Little is known of the social functions of the *rongorongo* men. We know only that they taught chants in special schools, met once a year at Anakena to read the tablets, and gathered at Orongo during the annual competition of the bird-men (p. 390) where they "chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that is all" (194, p. 260).

533
463

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

463 533 171

The *tangata rongorongo* of Easter Island is analogous to the *tuhuna o'ono* of the Marquesas who served as "master chanter, tribal bard, or ceremonial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore" (104, p. 145). He also taught the sacred chants and led the chanting at family feasts. There were chanting contests between the *tuhuna o'ono* of different tribes. The word *o'ono* is the equivalent of *rongo* since in the Marquesan dialect the *r* is dropped and the nasal velar (*ng*) becomes *n*.

On Mangareva there was a special class of chanters or "intellectuals" who were termed *rongorongo (taura rongorongo)*. They were responsible for the sacred chants for important festivals and recited genealogies and chants in praise of nobility at feasts organized by the king or by chiefs. They knew and transmitted to their pupils both sacred and profane lore—myths, legends, traditions, and historical narrative (28, p. 304).

Warriors

701 ●565

Thomson (215, p. 475) is mistaken when he assumes that "there was no class of professional fighters or soldiers; every able-bodied man was supposed to be a warrior and compelled to do duty in time of war." It is certainly true that most of the men of a tribe participated in a fight but the *matatoa* were nearly, if not exactly, professional warriors. As men of recognized courage and strength, they were expected to go to war and their presence in a battle was considered a guarantee of victory. Their prestige and the fear they inspired placed them in a special category above the average members of their tribes. They probably did no work. They might be compared to the Marquesan war leaders, *matahoha* (courageous faces, 104, p. 126).

[171]

In the native texts two words are generally used to designate warriors—*matatoa* which applies to a man of military fame, and *paoa* which designates an ordinary soldier. *Paoa* also means "club" (the short club like the Maori *patupatu*). The expression *kai-tangata* or *paoa-kai-tangata* (cannibal-warriors) appears occasionally in legends in reference to fierce fighters. The use of *kai-tangata* in this sense forms an exact parallel to the word *kaia* (famed warrior) of Mangareva.

[171]

Legends and missionary accounts fully agree that the *matatoa* were not only the leaders in war but were also the actual rulers of the tribes. Some of the *matatoa* seem to have procured for themselves privileges usually reserved for the *ariki*. On this point Roussel (190, p. 428) says: "The custom transmitted up to our time requires that the fishermen hand over the tuna fish he caught to the chief or, in his place, to the matatoa." Similar conditions existed on Mangaia where the temporal power passed from the *ariki* of the Nga-ariki tribe to victorious warriors (31, p. 122). On Easter Island there is no specific record that a *matatoa* ever ruled over the whole island, but cer-

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

701
tain legends seem to indicate that some *matatoa* exercised, at least temporarily, 565
supremacy over all the tribes.

Serfs

The *kio* were defeated people who were obliged to serve their conquerors 567
or to pay tribute to them with the produce of their lands. Roussel translates 171
kio to mean farmer or servant. On Mangareva a *kio* was a farmer who had put himself under the protection of a rich landowner or who cultivated a piece of land leased to him by some wealthy man. The *kio* were the lowest class of small farmers.

After a tribe had been defeated, those who were not killed and eaten were 567
reduced to the condition of *kio*. Their sufferings and humiliation have been 727
well described by Roussel (190, p. 424) whose information seems to have 266
been obtained first-hand.

When a war was over, the defeated people were kept in caves which they 567
could leave only during working hours. All became slaves and had to plant 727
a certain portion of land for their respective masters. When these masters no longer needed the services of the *kio*, they sent them home under any pretext but really to have fewer people to feed and especially to make it necessary for them to plant all over again. If a dismissed slave forgot the oft-taught lesson and planted again what he needed for his family, he could expect to be robbed; resistance was useless because it would be paid for by renewed slavery or a new war. Therefore the released slaves planted only one tenth of what they needed for sustenance (p. 120), as they preferred to starve rather than to plant for someone else.

The tales and legends make frequent allusions to *kio* concealed in caves, pursued to the most uninhabitable parts of the land, and existing there miserably until they were allowed to return to their land or until the fortunes of war had been decided in their favor.

Secret Societies

The following Easter Island legend, if taken literally, seems to indicate 575
the existence of secret societies and of masked persons organized into bands with the purpose of extorting food from the people:

> Six young men named Aamai went with a distant cousin Toka-ngutu, to make masks. They put the masks on and left Hanga-maihiku where they had been concealed, and went then to Hanga-o-honu. They arrived there at night and entered the houses, saying, "We are gods; we are the god Makemake." They behaved like gods and their voices were like that of a spirit. They said, "We want food, wooden images, dance paddles—all the things you have." When they finished with one house, they went to another, and were again given food and other things from the people there. The seven men left Hango-o-honu loaded with goods and returned to Hanga-mai-hiku where they spent a few days. At night they changed their voices to sound like gods. Men, women and children were terrified and believed they were really gods and gave them food, chickens, wooden images, and all sorts of other things.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

532 modern imitations. Some very small lizards were pierced transversely through the raised backbone and were hung on a string around the necks of dancers during feasts (87, p. 32). Other images were carried in the arms and were moved rhythmically (87, p. 48).

Figures of lizards combine a triangular animal head with other features derived from the human images. The protruding eyebrows meet in a ridge that continues downward toward the mouth. The eyes are of inlaid bone and obsidian. On the neck the seventh cervical vertebra protrudes as a knob, as in the *moai kavakava* (wooden images). The ribs are treated as those in the human figure, but they are fewer. The abdomen is more or less on the same level as the under jaw and the chest. The vertebrae form a crest along the back and often have a fanlike termination, similar to a bird tail. On the lumbar region there is usually a ring, like that on the human images. The arms are long and thin and extend from under the shoulder blades across the upper part of the chest, and terminate under the head in humanlike hands, although the position suggests the legs of a lizard. The legs are either bent up or extended along the tapering point of the piece of wood out of which the image has been carved. The point was intended to be stuck into the ground. (See 68, p. 73; 99, pp. 129-131.)

On an image in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania the hips and the upper part of the thighs are covered by a raised ridge which evidently represents the upper outline of the pelvic region and expresses emaciation (99, p. 130). Another wooden image of the same type has features more like a rat than a lizard. The ears are prominently raised and the mouth is distinctly ratlike (92, p. 96).

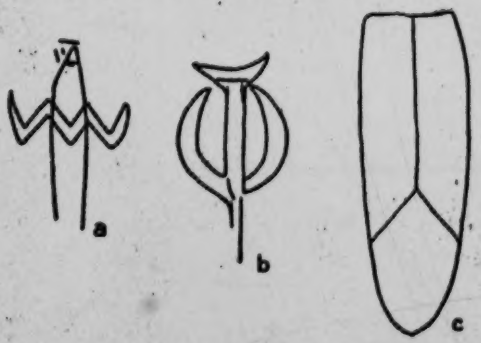

FIGURE 43.—Signs engraved on skulls used as talismans: *a*, bird without a head (U. S. Nat. Mus. 31064); *b*, bird (from Routledge, 194, fig. 96); *c*, vulva (U. S. Nat. Mus. 31064a).

ENGRAVED SKULLS

778 [565] The power that *ariki-paka* (noblemen) exercised over nature, through their mana and perhaps through their knowledge of rites, was not restricted to their lifetime. The skulls of *ariki-paka* were supposed to have the magic power to multiply chickens. They were thus highly valued and kept as precious talismans in the stone hen houses. These skulls were called *puoko moa* (skull for the fowls). They were always marked in front with an incised